

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 6 Monday, February 10, 1964 Price 10c

U.S. Now Defending New Dictator

It's High Time to Bring GIs Back from Vietnam

By Steve Graham

The latest coup in South Vietnam underlines once again — as events there have been showing more and more clearly of late — that the U.S. is involved in a war to shore up a corrupt system governed by gangsters and war-lords, feuding among themselves for power, uniting only to crush the majority of the people. The fiction that this is a war to preserve "freedom and democracy" has become embarrassing even to those who peddle it.

If any more proof was needed that the lives of GIs and \$1.5 million in tax dollars per day are being wasted for the benefit of South Vietnam's brass hats, the latest coup furnishes it. It is time Americans everywhere demanded an end to U.S. intervention in South Vietnam. It is especially urgent that this intervention be stopped before it develops into a major war.

The Jan. 29 coup which replaced Gen. Duong Van Minh with Gen. Nguyen Khanh spotlighted the deepening crisis of U.S. policy in Vietnam. It made more apparent than ever that the corrupt Vietnamese ruling class is unable by itself to stop the peasant rebellion. With unrest and war-weariness growing in the urban centers and Gen. Minh's junta reluctant to open a big offensive, the U.S. apparently decided to back Khanh as a "strong man" in the Diem pattern.

U.S. officials have no illusions about Khanh's stability. Debate in administration circles is over alternative policies to adopt if and when Khanh, too, collapses. It becomes clearer every day that the present policy of fighting a war through a puppet regime is bound to fail.

Defense Secretary McNamara's testimony to the House Armed Services Committee, days before the coup, was a contribution to this debate. Through him, the Pentagon publicly admitted considerable guerrilla successes since the Nov. 1 coup.

Policy Choices

What are the alternatives U.S. policy faces?

Max Frankel reports from Washington in the Feb. 3 N.Y. Times that "a small but growing number of American observers . . . are urging President Johnson to plan to negotiate the United States out of the area, before he is forced to choose between capitulation and major war." "Negotiation," "major war," "capitulation" — what do these mean and how do they relate to the present policy?

"Negotiation" would mean an attempt to establish a "neutrality agreement" like that in Laos, or the Geneva agreement of 1954. That authoritative spokesman for U.S. capitalism, the N.Y. Times, editorially advocated Feb. 1 a return to the Geneva accord:

"The 1954 agreement brought about the withdrawal of 120,000 Communist guerrillas and dependents from South to North Vietnam. At the same time, there was a withdrawal of foreign — then French — troops from South Vietnam. The joint military evacuation was accompanied by a great-power guarantee of Vietnam's neutrality. These must be the key

elements of any new settlement negotiated now."

"Capitulation" is how Washington officials would describe unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. That would come only if the American people demanded the GIs be brought home, or if the U.S. military suffered a crushing defeat as the French did in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. Shrewder voices in the U.S. power structure, such as the Times, advocate a negotiated settlement to prevent such eventualities.

The third alternative — a very dangerous and fearsome one — has been voiced among others by Washington correspondent James Reston. "Without a more aggressive military strategy," writes Reston, "the prospects of a more successful diplomacy are not good, but a combination of the two might be fruitful. The Communists in North Vietnam are vulnerable to both economic and military pressure. They have built a light industry there that is the pride of their leader, Ho Chi Minh, and it has been allowed to operate without any interference while the war has been fought primarily in the rice paddies and hills of South Vietnam."

Top brass in Washington are thinking along similar lines, to

(Continued on Page 6)

Witness to 1961 Killing Is Shot in Mississippi

LIBERTY, Miss. — A Negro, who saw a state legislator kill another Negro active in the voter-registration campaign here almost three years ago, was shotgunned to death Friday night, Jan. 31.

Louis Allen was found dead here in his front yard. He had been shot with a shotgun three times.

In Atlanta, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) asked the Justice Department for "a complete investigation of Allen's murder."

A week ago, Allen's son's car and a Liberty grocery that employed Negroes were fired upon.

Allen had witnessed the slaying of Herbert Lee, a 52-year-old farmer, at a Liberty cotton gin Sept. 25, 1961. Lee, who worked with SNCC voter-registration campaigns in Amite County, was shot by E. H. Hurst, then a member of the state legislature. Hurst was acquitted by a coroner's jury before Lee's lifeless body was removed from the street outside the cotton gin.

Allen, a witness to the slaying, testified at the coroner's jury that freed Hurst, but later said he lied because he feared for his own safety. SNCC workers told officials of the U.S. Department of Justice that Allen would change his testimony if they would protect him but they refused.

In February, 1963, Allen told a worker from the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee that he saw Hurst shoot Lee without provocation. Allen said a



RIGHTS RALLY. Part of the crowd of New York students and supporters who massed at the Board of Education building in Brooklyn during school boycott to demand an end to Jim Crow education.

Rights Forces Display Might In New York School Boycott

By Adam Knox

NEW YORK, Feb. 4 — The potential might of the civil-rights forces in this city was demonstrated yesterday with the staging of the biggest school boycott this country has yet seen.

The usually dry statistics of the Department of Education showed a dramatic jump to 464,361 or 44.8 per cent absences for the day. Since some 100,000 or 10 per cent of the students are absent on any given day, all the newspapers have grudgingly had to credit the boycott with keeping at least 360,000 out of school. This surpassed

by more than 100,000 the most optimistic predictions of the boycott sponsors.

Moreover, it should be noted that of the 100,000 normally absent on any given day — conducting their own private boycotts — a large proportion are Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters. Many of these had a constructive reason for absence yesterday and should be marked "present" on the picket lines and at the boycott-run "Freedom Schools."

Central Harlem schools had an absentee rate of 92 per cent for the day.

Board of Education Chairman James B. Donovan, who in the preceding months of negotiations over integrating New York's schools had displayed an undisguised hostility to the Negro leaders, remained consistent in his arrogance when he proclaimed the boycott an extremist "fraud" and a "fizzle." "There comes a time," he told reporters, "when you have to forsake the so-called language of diplomacy. You have to use simple, blunt, Anglo-Saxon that the least educated can understand."

Donovan provocatively announced that he would hold Rev. Milton Galamison, leader of the boycott, personally responsible for

any violence at the schools or picket lines. Despite Donovan's dire predictions there were no incidents of violence.

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 — About 1,500 persons, a majority Negro and Puerto Rican and most of them school children, converged on City Hall today to warm up for a rally to protest school segregation in the city of New York. The day was clear and the temperature a brisk 20 degrees Fahrenheit. If the feet and hands didn't warm up in the course of the afternoon, the spirit of the demonstration did.

First to arrive was the group of student trainees of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers whose signs indicated their solidarity with the boycott and a NAACP-CORE-Parents Workshop-Harlem Parents contingent. The sign that immediately caught the eye was: "Jim Crow Can't Teach Democracy!"

The pickets began stringing out around the block which circles city hall and a number of other buildings. Joined by groups from ghetto schools and churches, they began to chant "Jim Crow Must Go!" Signs in Spanish read: "We have to have decent books

(Continued on Page 5)

Oswald's Mother Challenges Widow About 'Facts' of Case

By Fred Halstead

FEB. 4 — Statements by Mrs. Marina Oswald about the alleged guilt of her late husband, Lee Harvey Oswald, in the Dallas assassination of President Kennedy have been challenged by Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, Lee's mother.

The 22-year-old Russian-speaking Marina Oswald has been testifying this week in secret sessions before the commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren which is charged with investigating the Dallas events.

The demand of the mother that the commission permit her lawyer, civil-liberties attorney Mark Lane of New York, to attend the sessions and cross-examine witnesses has been denied. Marguerite Oswald stated Jan. 29 that she cannot accept the findings of the commission unless such cross-examination is allowed.

Oswald's mother also challenged a statement by Marina in a filmed "interview" presented to the pub-

lic Jan. 28. In the film, Marina said: "Facts tell me that Lee shot Kennedy."

After this film was broadcast, the mother declared: "Where does she get these facts? Who has been talking to Marina? I know that I have not been allowed to talk to her. For a long time I have believed that a profound effort has been made to change her belief in Lee's innocence."

Earlier, the elder Mrs. Oswald said she had been prevented from speaking to her daughter-in-law at Lee Harvey Oswald's grave when both women happened to appear there at the same time Sunday, Jan. 26. The mother said federal agents who always accompany Marina, "whisked my daughter away the minute they spotted me. She didn't have a chance to say anything."

The two women have been separated since Oswald's funeral over

(Continued on Page 6)

Rap Cleveland Cops' Failure To Protect Rights Pickets

CLEVELAND, Feb. 2 — While 41 demonstrators were staging a week-end sit-in at the Board of Education offices, the mayor and police came under attack from civil-rights groups, clergy and newspapers for failure to act against a racist mob which beat Negroes and smashed cars in this city's Murray Hill district. The sit-in demonstrators, who were protesting the Board's reneging on a school-integration agreement made last September, were from the Hazeldell Parents Association, the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the United Freedom Movement.

An official investigation of what was termed a "total breakdown" of Cleveland law-enforcement machinery by either the U.S. Justice Department or the Ohio Civil Rights Commission was requested yesterday by the Cleveland chapter of NAIR (National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officers).

The telegram to Attorney General Kennedy read in part:

"On Wednesday and Thursday of this week, Cleveland law-enforcement machinery totally broke down in the face of screaming mobs formed to prevent peaceful assembly of pickets in our school-integration dispute."

Authorities Default

Mobs were permitted to gather, with little effort at dispersal, persons armed with bricks, bats and crowbars were not disarmed, violence against persons and property resulted in no arrests although committed in the face of police.

"Police and city officials have as yet not publicly admitted any responsibility."

A delegation of Cleveland clergymen told Mayor Ralph S. Locher: "Ministers have been spat upon and kicked; we've seen women punched and kicked while your plainclothesmen watched... We're here to call for a full investigation of this matter by Sunday. Your police force has failed. We know something can be done and must be done."

The mayor vented his anger at the ministers by telling them: "You had a bull by the tail. You had something and then asked us to stop it."

The mayor's anger was because ministers, including the minister



RIGHTS FIGHTER. Ruth Turner, Executive Secretary of CLEVELAND CORE, led sit-in at Board of Education.

of his own church, joined community and civil-rights demonstrators to insist that the school board integrate pupils transported from ghetto schools into full participation in the schools to which they are now going.

This morning the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* said editorially:

"Some doubted the right of the pickets to parade on Murray Hill in the demonstration for greater diffusion among Negro children from overcrowded schools into classrooms containing white pupils."

"Some doubted the right of clergymen to participate in the picketing."

"Some defended the police conduct, which was a 'holding' type of action. None of the rioters who assaulted the pickets, newsmen, cameramen or unfortunate passers-by, was jailed."

"So let's make this clear:

"The pickets were within their rights to picket. So were the clergymen. The pickets justifiably expected better protection from the city's Safety Department. Mayor Locher failed to understand the situation. When action was called for he held back in this instance. It is not unreasonable to believe that a determined expression on his part to maintain law and order would have curtailed the rioting."

Earlier, Mark C. Schinnerer, former Cleveland school superintendent, who is now a special consultant to the Los Angeles Board of Education, blamed Cleveland business interests for the school crisis because of their opposition to new school construction. He said: "We lost a great big building levy back in 1960. We asked for 4 mills for two years, and the realty interests and the Chamber of Commerce opposed it."

Shouted Support

Last night, at a protest meeting at Antioch Baptist Church called by the United Freedom Movement, over 2,500 persons shouted their support for UFM proposals including the following:

- A limited school boycott on Thursday.

- A city-wide school boycott on Friday.

- Demonstrations at Board of Education and city council.

- Enlisting the Negro community in a boycott of all downtown Cleveland department stores unless the school board acts to integrate.

- A voter-registration drive aimed at all politicians in office considered hostile to the civil-rights movement. This would include a number of "liberal" Democrats who have failed to speak out on the school issue.

- Initiation of recall proceedings against a number of public officials.

- An Easter Boycott.

Rights Movement Gains in Denver

DENVER — A number of recent events are causing optimism about development of the civil-rights movement in this area which traditionally lags behind the rest of the country in social struggles.

On Jan. 8 Gov. George Wallace of Alabama was picketed at the University of Denver by 300 sign-waving, chanting demonstrators. This was the most opposition the racist governor had so far encountered on his Western tour which is designed to lure industry to Alabama and raise opposition to civil-rights legislation now in Congress.

Then on Jan. 15 the newly-convened state legislature and Republican Governor John Love were startled by a sit-down conducted by the Congress of Racial Equality in the governor's office. The CORE group was demanding that some bite be put into Colorado's toothless Fair Housing Act.

Embarrassed and irritated by this public exposure of their 'Freedom Soon' policies, Gov. Love, the legislature and local press all denounced such disrespectful use of "pressure tactics."

Increased Tuition

As part of his "economy in government drive" — treating the rich and poor alike by reducing both income-tax rates and public-welfare payments — the governor has just proposed a big increase in state college and university tuition fees. The students at the University of Colorado responded by hanging the governor in effigy. Together with students at other state schools, they are planning to march on the state capitol Feb. 4 and 5.

This past weekend overflow crowds turned out for a series of conferences, church services and public meetings addressed by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Aside from the Sunday morning church service in the Negro community, most of Rev. King's audiences were predominantly white and quite youthful. The sponsor of the tour, one of Denver's more militant Negro pastors, feels it will help invigorate the civil-rights movement in this area.

It probably will, and it should help to put some pressure on Denver's Democratic Mayor Tom Curran, who is presently trying to prevent creation of a Police Review Board demanded by Denver's Spanish-American community, a regular victim of police bullets and nightsticks.

Rights Group Makes Appeal To Send Food to Mississippi

An action memorandum has been sent to "Friends Everywhere" by Jim Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, requesting immediate donations of food for Negroes in the Mississippi Delta area. Conditions of hunger have become so widespread there that three new receiving centers for food have been set up.

Friends and sympathizers of the oppressed population of Mississippi are urged to ask their trade-unions, churches, civic clubs, other organizations and individuals to send food at once.

It has been a rough winter in Mississippi, especially for those who have been displaced by machines in the cotton fields. The worst victims are Negroes who have tried to register to vote.

These people can't look to state and local officials for help because Mississippi segregationists fear the voting power that Negroes may acquire.

One man came to a neighbor's house in Leflore County on the night of Jan. 18 barefoot, hungry, and crying because he had no food to give his large family. In Sun-



Before the keel was laid for the first of eight automated freighters, Lykes Bros. Steamship company claims it had a commitment from the National Maritime Union that it would accept a reduced manning scale on the ships. The Jan. 25 *Business Week* reports: "By prior agreement with the NMU and other unions, Lykes expects to reduce manning requirements from 46 needed on a conventional ship to 32 on its mechanized vessels."

An example of what the potential loss of jobs could mean is provided by estimates of the Pacific Maritime Association. This ship-owners' organization hopes to reduce seamen's jobs by 30 percent (6,000) on 120 ships over the next five years.

NMU President Joseph Curran is in the process of helping to sell this job-slashing campaign to rank-and-file seamen. In the Jan. 2 *Pilot*, the NMU newspaper, he says, "Our security does not lie in the number of jobs aboard a particular ship but in greatly increasing the number of ships under the American flag."

In the past, militant seamen advanced the demand for a four-watch system totaling six hours a day (instead of the present three watch, eight-hour day) as the main solution to loss of jobs aboard ship. This is equivalent to the demand for a shorter work week or for 30-for-40 in shoreside industries.

Meanwhile New York harbor was tied up by a strike of tugboat seamen, members of the NMU's United Marine Division Local 333, who turned down a contract agreed to by union leaders and the Marine Towing and Transportation Employers Association.

When Local 333 President Joseph O'Hare recommended that the proposed contract (providing a 35-cent-an-hour increase and minor fringe benefits) be seriously considered, he was shouted down by rank-and-file union members. They in turn instructed the negotiating committee to resume negotiations on the members' original demands. These included a fourth relief crew for sea-going tugs to allow seamen more time ashore; a reduction in the work-

week from 40 to 30 hours; a 50-cent-an-hour increase in pay, and other fringe benefits. The 2,400 tugboat and barge workers present at the meeting cast a nearly unanimous hand vote to go out on strike to win these demands.

23,000 members of the Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO), are currently voting by mail-in ballot whether to remain in the CWA or to affiliate with one of two other competing unions. These are the Teamsters and a new organization — the Brotherhood of Telephone Workers.

A mass membership meeting of 1,500 phone workers in Manhattan Center Jan. 3 heard the former CWA Local President Henry Habel, who is leading the pro-Teamster faction, accuse the Bell Telephone system of "desperately trying to pull CWA's chestnuts out of the fire." Habel was referring to the phone company's public taking of sides against the Teamsters and the Brotherhood of Telephone Workers on the eve of the election.

Harold J. Gibbons, Teamster executive vice president, told the meeting that affiliation with his union would assure the phone workers of the support of 1,751,000 Teamster members and a treasury of \$40 million.

Unemployment in Camden, N.J., is the worst it has been in seven years as the result of a 50 per cent jump since Sept. 1963. The neighboring city of Philadelphia is also hard hit and has been officially classified as a "distressed area" for over a year.

One of the causes of unemployment in the Camden area is the fact that Radio Corporation of America (RCA) alone has laid off some 4,000 workers in the last two years — 800 of them engineers and professional workers. During both years the company announced record profits. Despite this fact, it is planning to close still another plant employing 400 workers in nearby Pennsauken, N.J.

Indian Leader to Speak At Minneapolis Forum

By Everett E. Luoma

The Minneapolis Friday Night Socialist Forum has announced that an American Indian, Peter J. LaPointe of Albert Lea, Minnesota, will speak on "The American Indian's View of White Society" at 8:30 p.m. Feb. 14 at Hall 240, 704 Hennepin St.

Peter LaPointe is the leading figure of the small Winnebago community in the Albert Lea area. He was their delegate to the American Indian Conference sponsored by the University of Chicago in June 1961, and last summer he helped several families register complaints against the discrimination of the local County Welfare Dept.

In the early 19th Century the Winnebago tribe, part of the Sioux family, claimed southeastern Wisconsin and the northwestern corner of Illinois. As expanding white society coveted this land with a greater and greater aggressiveness, the Winnebago were forced to sign a series of treaties that ceded the land to expanding capitalism.

During World War II, the Winnebago were promised employment in Albert Lea. They left the poverty of the reservation for the promise of security. Now the industries no longer need their labor and are using discrimination to drive them back to the reservation rather than keep them on relief or find jobs for them.

Weekly Calendar

(The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.)

CHICAGO

A lecture on THE PANAMA CANAL and the Face of the USA in Latin America. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 302 South Canal St., Room 210. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE AMERICAN INDIAN'S VIEW OF WHITE SOCIETY. Speaker, Peter J. LaPointe, militant leader of Indian community of Albert Lea. Fri., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

NEXT STAGE IN THE NEGRO STRUGGLE. Speaker, Robert Vernon, author of "White Radicals and Black Nationalism" in current *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

FEB. 21: Panel Discussion on THE NEGRO VOTE IN '64 — Where Will It Go?

PHILADELPHIA

The 1964 Elections. A talk by William Hathaway, Socialist Workers nominee for U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania. Sun., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. at our new headquarters, 3617 North Broad St., Room 9. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

Midwest Gathering Discusses Key Issues

Young Socialists Hold Educational Parley

By David Herman

CHICAGO — The biggest meeting of young socialists in this part of the country in the past decade — the Second Midwest Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance — was held here Jan. 25 and 26 and was an enormous success.

Over 150 young people attended. They came from 22 universities, colleges and high schools and from 14 cities in the Midwest. The opportunity for so many young socialists to get together for discussion was in itself extremely useful. The size and vigor of the group further demonstrated that there is a growing receptivity to the ideas of socialism among a vital section of American students.

The Conference was especially useful to relatively isolated groups of socialists for whom this was a first chance to meet many co-thinkers. The number of such new groups greatly impressed those who had attended the first Conference a year ago.

The audience heard several leading socialists of its own generation as well as older speakers.

Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, gave an analysis of the Algerian Revolution. All the other talks focused on the American scene.

Witchhunt Discussed

Jack Barnes, Midwest organizer of the YSA, discussed the rise of McCarthyism, today's witch-hunt and the key role of the Bloomington Case in the fight for civil liberties. (See article page 5.)

Two speeches were devoted to the Negro struggle. Robert Vernon, contributor of articles on the subject to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*, analyzed the strategy and tactics of the struggle. He emphasized the differences between the Southern struggle for elementary rights, such as the right to sit at a lunch counter, and the struggle in the ghettos of the North where this type of "integration" already exists. Vernon showed how many people misapply the standards appropriate to the South to the Northern struggle.

High point of the Conference was the speech by George Breitman of Detroit. His talk was entitled "What a Minority Can Do." He said he had chosen this title because white liberals so often speak about what the Negro people cannot do because they are a minority in the U.S. Furthermore, very few people are aware of the enormous possibilities open to this minority to change the entire social structure of the country.

After enumerating various qualities of the Negro people which makes it capable of shaking up and changing American society, Breitman said:

"It can force the present ruling class to lift some of the existing racial restrictions and barriers in the form of more jobs, better jobs, better schools, less police brutal-



ADDRESSED PARLEY. Tom Morgan, defendant in Indiana "subversion" case, participated in Young Socialist panel on civil-liberties.

ity, and a greater measure of formal equality before the law...

"A minority properly oriented and led can go much, much further than it has done so far to make the present system unworkable and intolerable, as a way of winning their own equality. Some people call this the strategy of social dislocation. Rev. Cleage of Detroit has called it a 'strategy of chaos' and has called for it. Others call it by the name of mass civil disobedience.

Pressure Raises Costs

"Whatever you call it, it has barely been tried and practiced in America up to now. It consists of making the system so expensive and so inconvenient that white people are forced to ask themselves whether it is worthwhile and whether they should not, in their own interests, help to reform or do away with it altogether.

"It means lying down, interposing your bodies on the airplane runways, on the expressways, at the plant gates, at the school entrances, at the points of production and at the points of distribution, and the points of transportation, and attempting to throw a monkey wrench into the wheels of the system, to paralyze it, to bring it to a stop.

"It means saying: If we can't have decent and equal schools, then let's not have any schools. If we can't have jobs and job equality, then let no one be able to work. If we can't vote, then let nobody be able to vote. If we can't belong to the unions as equals, then we don't care what happens to the unions.

"It means carrying the principle of the sit-down strike — which stopped production — much further and into entirely new areas of social life. I say this has been barely tried as a full-scale weapon of the Negro minority, but I have

no doubt that it will be in increasing scope.

"Already some members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have projected such action and have had it rejected by the moderate leaders like Rev. Martin Luther King, who talks about civil disobedience but is mortally afraid of unleashing it on a mass scale and without restrictions. The sit-ins, the lie-ins, the walk-ins, etc., were just a faint and small exploratory version of what is still to come in a giant size and to the accompaniment of deep social convulsions and conflicts.

"To avoid misunderstandings, let me just say that what I am talking about here is not pacifism but an all-out struggle which, when it reaches full flower, will be the equivalent of a general strike. And a general strike usually tends to lead to the posing of the question of who shall have the power in the land.

"A minority, merely by carrying through its fight for democratic rights without compromise, can help to educate and radicalize the American people, especially the youth in whose hands the future lies. In fact, it is already doing so. You — in this audience of Young Socialists and young radicals — know better than anybody else how profoundly your thinking about the whole world has been influenced by the Negro struggle."

The final speech of the conference, delivered by Frank Lovell, Michigan organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, was on the American trade-union movement. He recounted the history of its rise in the 1930s, its subsequent degeneration, and some of the forces outside the union movement itself which may stimulate and finally revitalize it.

...Miss. Killing

(Continued from Page 1)

asked me about the piece of iron. I said I hadn't seen no iron. 'Is this the piece of iron?' I said 'yes,' Allen said. He said he had been forced to lie at the grand jury investigation also.

"If you'll give me protection, I'll let the hide fall with the hair," Allen said in 1963. No protection came.

Three Negro students were shot by Jackson, Miss., police Feb. 3 when they protested the running-down of a 20-year-old co-ed, Mamie Ballard, by a white motorist at Jackson State College.

Miss Ballard's leg was broken when she was struck on Lynch St., which runs right through the campus. (The only action police took was to give the motorist a ticket.) Students, who have long demanded a traffic light at the spot, were enraged. Hundreds gathered and stoned vehicles on the street. They then dispersed to a basketball game. When they gathered again, they found half of Jackson's police force blockading the campus.

Cops greeted them with "warning" shotgun blasts, which caused the injuries, and beat up several demonstrators including two reporters from the *Mississippi Free Press*, a Negro paper. The police also had tear gas, dogs and armed vehicles on hand.

The next day, hundreds of students gathered, including some from nearby Campbell and Tougaloo Colleges. Members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee reportedly urged a march on the county courthouse, where Byron de la Beckwith is being tried for the murder of Medgar Evers before a lily-white jury. NAACP head Charles Evers, brother of the murdered man, persuaded the students not to march.



NAT TURNER (1800-1831). Commemorating Negro History Week, we are offering a free 8x10 print of this picture with each one-year subscription (new or renewal) to *The Militant*. Or, if you prefer, you may select a print of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman or Sojourner Truth. A combination subscription to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review* brings you all four.

By Constance Weissman

Nat Turner was the leader of the most famous of all slave revolts in the United States.

White-supremacist historians argue that the Negro slaves were docile and incapable of revolt. Actually the opposite was true. Resistance to slavery and attempted revolt was unrelenting. Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 was but the climax of decades of slave unrest. Before Turner's insurrection, there had been other revolts, planned or begun.

Thus, Gabriel, a slave in Virginia, recruited several thousand followers in the summer of 1800. Informers said that among his supporters were 500 coal miners, that he expected the poor whites to join his revolution and that two Frenchmen had actually joined. (Gabriel's orders were that Frenchmen were to be spared — an evidence of the influence of the French Revolution on the thinking of the slaves.) Gabriel was betrayed on the day set for the uprising and was executed.

Shortly after Gabriel's defeat another slave, named Arthur, also a Virginian, called on both blacks and poor whites to join in an attack on the armory to obtain weapons for freedom.

In 1822, Denmark Vesey of Charleston, South Carolina, organized one of the most extensive conspiracies, enlisting thousands of slaves. Betrayed by informers, almost all the leaders "died silent," so that details of the planned revolt are unknown to this day.

Nat Turner, a slave in Southampton County, Virginia, taught himself to read and write while a boy and was greatly admired by his fellow slaves. In a religious age, it was natural that his feelings against slavery should find expression in Bible texts.

Turner began his revolt on Aug. 21, 1831, striking the first blows against his own master. Other slaves quickly joined the uprising. Armed with guns described as not fit for use and assailed by white forces twice their number, it is not surprising that they were defeated in battle, though not before forcing the whites first to retreat and obtain reinforcements.

In addition to militia units from Virginia and North Carolina, troops — including artillery batteries — were sent from Fort Eustis and Marines from U.S. Navy warships. Sixty whites had been killed in the uprising. In the repression that followed twice that number of Negroes were massacred.

After several months Turner himself was captured. About 16 slaves and free Negroes had already been tried and hanged. Turner pleaded not guilty because, as he said, he did not feel guilty. Asked if he now realized the error of his belief and slogan that "the first shall be last and the last shall be first," he replied: "Was not Christ crucified?" On Nov. 11, 1831, he calmly went to his death on the scaffold.

THE MILITANT

116 University Place
New York, N. Y., 10003

Enclosed is \$3 for a 1-year sub. Send me the print checked below.

- ☐ Frederick Douglass ☐ Harriet Tubman
☐ Sojourner Truth ☐ Nat Turner
☐ I'm enclosing \$5 for a combination sub. Send me all 4.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Order Both Now and Save a Dollar
Bound Volumes
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

1961 through 1963 (plus index) \$8

1957 through 1960 (plus index) \$8

Send \$15 for both volumes to

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

116 University Place,
New York 3, N.Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 28 - No. 6

345

Monday, February 10, 1964

No GIs to Cyprus!

For years the British imperialists waged a war of atrocities to keep Cyprus despite the desire of the people there, who are overwhelmingly Greek, to unite with Greece. A Cypriote victory was in sight when the imperialists played their famous divide-and-rule card.

As if at a pre-arranged signal clashes suddenly broke out between Cypriote Greeks and the Turkish minority on the island. Indeed, there had been pre-arrangement. The British had held secret negotiations with the Turkish government and both of them undoubtedly supplied agents provocateurs to spark the clashes on Cyprus.

Chauvinists in the two communities on the island unwittingly carried the ball for British imperialism thereafter. Before this the British had had no excuse for being in Cyprus other than imperialist greed and need to dominate the shipping routes to Suez and the Middle East oil fields. Now the British could piously claim they were needed there to keep the Greeks and Turks from slaughtering one another.

A phony independence for Cyprus was negotiated on this basis. British troops remained on the island in control of garrisons, airfields, highways, etc. However, this is costly and unpopular and so the British — in view of the way U.S. imperialism has elbowed its way into the oil-rich Middle East — propose the U.S. bear some of the Cyprus burden by sending troops.

The Johnson administration apparently is going to be lavish with GI lives not only in South Vietnam but elsewhere. For it agreed with alacrity and began putting heat on Archbishop Makarios, president of Cyprus, to admit them. The bombing of the U.S. Embassy there, which quickly followed, is but a forewarning of what will be in store for the GIs.

The ordinary people of the U.S. have nothing to gain in Cyprus. They have no desire to deprive the Cypriotes of their right of self-determination. Americans should not be fooled into thinking that sending the GIs to Cyprus would be a peace-keeping or humanitarian mission. They should tell Johnson now in unmistakable terms: No GIs to Cyprus!

Albany, Ga. — A National Scandal

The officials of Albany, Georgia, apparently are set upon making their city notorious internationally. Mass arrests of civil-rights demonstrators first made that city infamous several years ago. Since then there has been no letup.

But now Albany's arrests and rearrests of the participants in the Committee for Non-Violent Action's Quebec-to-Guantanamo Peace Walk seem never to end. More than a dozen were jailed Dec. 23. Eight served full 25-day sentences, fasting the whole time. Several groups have been arrested while protesting the first arrests. Five more were convicted Feb. 4 and 21 remain to be tried.

The CNVA has sponsored peace marches all over this country and on three continents, including one from San Francisco to Moscow. Nowhere in the "free world" or the Soviet bloc countries have peace walkers had the difficulties they are having in Albany. Nowhere in the world have their civil liberties, rights of free speech and assembly, been violated so repeatedly as in Albany.

There have been no statement or actions by federal officials on behalf of the peace marchers in Albany. The administration, which will provoke an international crisis about the right of transit through East Germany to Berlin, is supremely uninterested in the right of transit of U.S. pacifists through Albany, Georgia.

But Washington can plead consistency — it never protected the civil-rights of residents there, so why should it protect the civil liberties of non-residents.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 825-2779.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. WE 1-9967.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

PAMPHLET REVIEW

Facts on the Right to Travel

THE FREEDOM TO TRAVEL: A study. By Phillip Abbott Luce. Nov.-Dec. issue of *Rights* (publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 7th Ave., New York, N.Y.) 31 pp., price 25¢.

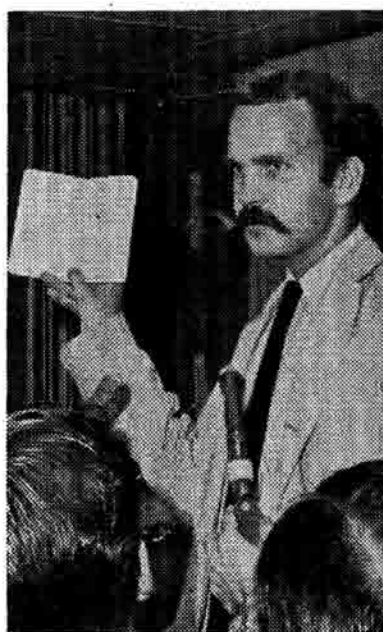
One of the three young men indicted last September by the federal government for "conspiring" and "illegally" traveling to and from Cuba has written a fact-filled pamphlet on the juridical and civil-liberties questions involved in the case.

In a discussion of the history of the right of travel across national boundaries, Phillip Luce points out that "although the Constitution does not specifically guarantee the right to travel, it is a reasonable presumption that the constitutional rights of free speech and other specifics of the First Amendment are not limited by geography."

No passports were required at the time of the writing of the Constitution and, when they were introduced during the war of 1812, they were only for travel into enemy territory and only for the duration of the war.

Even in this century when the passport, originally issued as a convenient means of identification for the traveler, had become obligatory in times of war and customary in peace, travel was in fact relatively free. This was true for U.S. citizens in the post-World War II period up to 1951. There was no denial of a passport because of a person's political beliefs. Nor was travel to any country forbidden because of the political system prevailing there.

Now, however, to go to Cuba is



TESTED BAN. Phillip Luce holds aloft passport at airport on his return from Cuba where he went in defiance of travel ban. He and two others now face jail for defending constitutional right of free travel.

not regarded "in the national interest" and is not permitted because of a supposed state of "national emergency" which has been in effect ever since the Korean War.

The three young men, Luce, Stephen Martinot, and Levi Laub, all of New York City, were indicted on three counts and face 15 years' imprisonment and a possible \$20,000 fine each.

The first count is "conspiring"

Louisiana Racists Indict 3 In "Subversion" Frame-Up

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Two officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the law partner of one of them, were indicted Jan. 29 on charges of violating Louisiana's subversive activities and communist control law.

Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF's treasurer, was indicted on three counts; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF's executive director on two counts; Bruce Walter, Smith's law partner on one count.

The counts against Smith are: (1) participating in the management "of a subversive organization, SCEF"; (2) being a member of SCEF and failing to register with the Louisiana Department of Safety, as such; (3) being a member of the National Lawyers' Guild and failing to register.

Face Fines and Jail

Dombrowski was indicted on counts (1) and (2); Walter was indicted on count (3). The maximum penalty on conviction of each count is \$10,000 fine, and/or ten years at hard labor.

Dombrowski, Smith and Walter had been arrested in raids on their homes and offices here Oct. 4 at the instigation of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. Charges against the three men were dismissed by a state judge on October 25 on the ground that there was no evidence of wrong-doing.

The new charges followed a series of court battles over the constitutionality of the law and the seizure of SCEF's records during the raids. SCEF is a South-wide interracial group working to end racial discrimination and segregation. Its president is the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala.

Way was cleared for the indictments when a three-judge Federal Court voted 2 to 1 to uphold constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Act. The judges also

dissolved a temporary order restraining the state from prosecuting under the act. These rulings are being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to bar prosecution pending its final decision.

SCEF contends that it is being harassed and attacked because of its work for racial integration. Rev. Shuttlesworth has publicly charged a conspiracy against SCEF and the civil-rights movement by segregationist officials in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

After SCEF's records were seized in the Oct. 4 raids, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi had them moved out of Louisiana into Mississippi and then to Washington. Eastland is chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The records were removed while a suit was pending in U.S. District Court to have them returned to SCEF. Dombrowski and SCEF then sued Senator Eastland for \$500,000 damages and attempted to block him from using the records in any way.

Julien G. Sourwine, chief counsel for the Eastland subcommittee, has admitted that he conferred with the attorney for the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee last summer about LUAC's plans for obtaining SCEF's records.

Dr. Dombrowski and Aubrey Williams, president emeritus of SCEF, had refused at a hearing in 1954 in New Orleans to give Eastland a list of supporters of SCEF. They risked contempt citations in doing this.

Educational Costs

It costs nearly \$25,000 to send a student to an out-of-town college for four years, if living allowances, travel and other expenses are included, according to an estimate by Senator Ribicoff.

to travel to Cuba, "Conspiracy" in this indictment means the discussions and meetings held by the Cuba travelers prior to their trip — meetings which in no way harmed the welfare or security of the American people. This "conspiracy" label attached to legitimate use of First Amendment rights, has been used not only against the Cuba travelers, but in legal assaults on other civil liberties and on civil rights.

Others have gone to and returned from Cuba (the other two counts) "without a valid passport" (William Worthy, for instance). Others have openly challenged the State Department's right to withhold passports to go to Cuba (Zemel and MacEwan in Philadelphia are suing the State Department).

Luce shows that the government has completely dropped the pretense of having the law on its side, at least in the Zemel-MacEwan case, where the Justice Department attorney has admitted submitting an openly "political brief." Travel to Cuba should be denied, he argued, because it is a basic part of American foreign policy to isolate Cuba.

Issues At Stake

There are four questions, Luce contends, the American people must consider: (1) The government's present position constitutes *de facto* banishment (which is unconstitutional) in that persons traveling to Cuba, China, or other places the government doesn't want them to see, are faced upon arriving at their home ports with the choice of staying abroad or submitting to prosecution.

(2) The Secretary of State has assumed the right to prevent persons from traveling to particular countries. This has never been stated in statute books, nor in the law giving the Secretary the power to issue the passports.

(3) Previous Supreme Court cases indicate that, even if the Secretary of State had this authority from statutes, it should be ruled unconstitutional.

(4) The Executive branch has no right to control travel. Although the President has asked Congress for the right to prevent Americans from traveling to certain areas, Congress has not yet complied with his request.

The issue of the right to travel received a fair amount of attention last fall, but since then has pretty much dropped from public attention. This must be remedied. Not only are the immediate fate of three young men involved (as well as that of journalist William Worthy), but a basic right of all Americans which has been almost completely wrested away by the cold-war bureaucrats. In bringing attention to the issue and a wealth of information to the discussion, Luce's pamphlet is a welcome contribution indeed.

—Jay Garnett

Setback On Right to Travel

The fight to preserve the right to travel received another setback Jan. 24 when a three-judge federal court upheld the Secretary of State's refusal to grant a passport to Vincent Copeland editor of the bi-weekly paper, Workers' World.

Copeland had refused to sign a non-Communist affidavit "as a matter of principle." The court upheld the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 requiring a passport applicant to swear that in the preceding year he was not a member of any organization required to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board. [The Communist Party has been directed to so register.] Copeland said the decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

ACLU Challenges Gov't In Conviction of Worthy

The American Civil Liberties Union has filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans in support of William Worthy, correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, convicted of entering the United States from Cuba without a passport.

The ACLU challenges the constitutionality of the federal law which makes it illegal for a U.S. citizen to leave or enter the country without a passport. Travel by citizens to and from countries of the Western Hemisphere without a passport is allowed by the statute, with the exclusion of Cuba.

The brief contends that the law violates the Fifth Amendment's due process clause by sanctioning banishment of a citizen, that it interferes with his right to travel freely, and that there is in fact no "national emergency" which warrants the travel ban. (The U.S. federal government is still operating on the basis of the national emergency declared by President Truman in 1950 at the time of the Korean War.)

An American citizen by birth, Worthy has held many valid U.S. passports in the past. After his last one expired in 1957, he was denied a new passport on the ground that he has used his passports for travel to forbidden countries. His return from Cuba in 1961 at the International Airport in Miami became occasion for his indictment there by a federal grand jury and subsequent conviction in August 1962 to three months imprisonment and nine months probation.

The ACLU brief argues that to make re-entry into the United States a crime for a citizen who has not committed an act liable to prosecution is tantamount to banishment or exile, which is un-



William Worthy

constitutional. "Residence in one's country is the essence of citizenship," the brief states, and no U.S. court has ever declared it a crime for a citizen to try to exercise his right to residence here by re-entry.

The Supreme Court said in a 1958 decision: "The right to travel is a part of 'liberty' of which the citizen cannot be deprived without due process of law under the Fifth Amendment . . . Travel abroad, like travel within the country, may be necessary for a livelihood." The Negro journalist's livelihood as a writer, the brief points out, is largely dependent on his ability to travel.

The fact that Worthy identified himself at the Miami Airport with a birth certificate should have satisfied the government's legal right to keep a check on those entering its borders, the brief said.

The favorable response of University of Minnesota students to a talk by Tom Morgan, Bloomington student defendant, shows how lively an issue the Indiana witch-hunt case has become.

Some 100 students turned out to hear Morgan tell of the case and the needs of the defendants. This audience contributed over \$40 for the defense and half those present signed cards offering to work for, or expressing further interest in, the U. of Minnesota chapter of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students (CABS).

Morgan's talk was thus a very successful first meeting for the CABS chapter which had just attained official campus status. It is planning further fund-raising and publicity activities.

One reason for the Minnesota students' favorable response is their own recent experience with attempts to stifle free expression. Only a few weeks ago hundreds of Minnesota students cheered Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley as he emphatically defended academic freedom in a debate with Milton Rosen, a St. Paul businessman and ultra-rightist who, along with the American Legion, has called on the state legislature to "investigate" the campus.

This leg of Morgan's tour also included Duluth, Minn., and Carleton College, where a CABS chapter was formed after his talk. Morgan also spoke at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Minneapolis and at the University of Chicago.

Morgan appeared along with Ralph Levitt, also currently on tour, at the Midwest Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance, Jan. 25-26, which was attended by some 150 young people. Jack Barnes, Midwest organizer for the YSA, spoke on the facts in the case, its importance, and analyzed the history of McCarthyism and the witch hunt.

After Barnes' talk, defendants Morgan and Levitt, and Paulann

INDICTED YOUNG SOCIALISTS WIN NEW SUPPORT Minnesota Students Join Aid Committee

'Commonweal' on Indiana Case

The following is what *Commonweal*, liberal Catholic weekly, had to say about the Bloomington case in the lead editorial of its Jan. 31 issue:

"The vigilantes and the vigilante mentality, so often written off as highly forgettable aspects of the 1950s, are still with us . . .

"The State of Indiana still has on its books a so-called anti-Communism statute, which makes it a crime to 'assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States or the State of Indiana should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means.'

"Constitutional lawyers may look with some astonishment on a law that makes simple assembly for the purpose of advocating something punishable by a jail term, but the law, passed during the Jenner days, [Sen. Jenner was the leading McCarthyite in Indiana], is still in force and three young socialist students at Indiana University face two to six years imprisonment for [allegedly] violating it. The group that they belonged to, the Young Socialist Alliance, issued a statement that it does not advocate, and has never advocated, the violent overthrow of the government.

"But the three students were indicted anyhow, on grounds that they participated 'by their presence, aid, or instigation' at a meeting in which a Negro member of the socialist group had spoken about the plight of Negroes in Mississippi. The speech contained a line doubting whether Negroes there could secure equal rights by non-violent methods . . .

"One day the students will be cleared, but only after a wearing and expensive struggle. One of the students has already had to drop out of college for lack of funds. As in the blacklisting business, the victims can be expected to be worn down and harassed for years because of an irrational fear and self-satisfied indignation toward anything but the purest Americanism. The vigilantes it seems are still with us."

Groninger, national secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, discussed the case and answered questions about it from members of the audience. Participants — both members of the YSA and interested observers — left with a determination to do their utmost for the Bloomington defense.

After the conference, Ralph

Levitt departed for the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where a faculty cocktail party was held to honor the defendants and raise funds for their defense. The highly successful affair was arranged by the adults and young people of the very active CABS in Madison.

Morgan went from the conference to Detroit, where he met a crowded schedule of campus talks.

George Clarke Dies in Accident; Had Been Pioneer Trotskyist

NEW YORK, Feb. 4 — Funeral services were held today for George Clarke, a former leading member of the Socialist Workers Party.

He had been killed instantly Feb. 1 in an accident when the car he was driving collided with another.

The funeral was attended by a small group of friends and former political associates. Eulogies were delivered at the funeral parlor by his father and by Felix Morrow. A graveside eulogy was pronounced by Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary.

He was 51 years old at the time of his death.

A socialist from his earliest youth, he was first active in the Communist youth movement. While still in his early teens he was among the first to take a stand against the development of Stalinist bureaucratism. He soon

became a leading figure in the Trotskyist movement.

Throughout the years he was a member of the party's national committee and was an all-around political leader. He had a deep interest in political theory and was always engrossed in the key issues confronting the movement. At the same time he was an active party builder who served in all spheres of work.

Wrote and Lectured

He wrote and lectured a great deal. He served as editor of *The Militant* and *Fourth International*, predecessor publication of *International Socialist Review*. He was Organizer of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party for a period and served as SWP national campaign manager in 1948, when the party first contested for president.

He also participated in the labor movement. He was an organizer for the CIO United Auto Workers during the union's initial organizing drive in the 1930s. During World War II he was a merchant seaman and was on one ship that was torpedoed. He spent several days in a lifeboat before being rescued.

In 1953, he left the SWP with a group that had developed political differences with the party's established program. It was this group which published the magazine *American Socialist*. Clarke was one of its leading figures and writers. The magazine eventually ceased publication and the group dissolved. Thereafter he was not associated with any political tendency.

His death will leave a sense of loss for all those who knew him and worked with him to build a better world.

(Continued from Page 1)

to read in order to be able to speak for our rights" and "More Schools to Facilitate Integration."

A notable emphasis was on the demand for "Quality Integrated Schools." This reflected the discontent of New York parents with the level and techniques of education in New York City and especially with the inherently poor quality of ghetto schools.

One sign read, "Integration — a Real Education," symbolizing the fact that in their joint struggle, underprivileged Negro, Puerto Rican, and other minority group children are learning what it means to fight for a common goal.

"We Want More Minority Group Opinions Represented On the School Board," one sign declared.

A leaflet handed out to pickets and passers-by urged: "End the Shame in N.Y.C.'s Ghetto Schools!" It demanded the immediate upgrading of qualified Negroes to principals now and condemned the existing situation where white principals, uninterested in their Negro pupils, have made it ever so much more difficult for Negroes to receive a decent education.

As one passer-by noted, "There's more to these hey-hey-what-d'ya-say yells than at a high school football game." "Ho, ho, Jim Crow's gotta go."

At the headquarters of the Board of Education in Brooklyn, the day started with fewer demonstrators but with far more spirit. Unlike those at the city hall rally, they moved freely, not strung out one-by-one. The singing of freedom songs and chanting was general. The bureaucrats and employees in the Department of Education looked down to the street as though from a gilded cage. Those

young people down there in the streets — many on a picket line for the first time — weren't going to turn them out into the cold that afternoon, but the potential was there — and they were demonstrating that patience was beginning to wear thin. They shouted "Jim Crow Must Go!" interspersed with an occasional "Donovan Must Go!"

Crossed Brooklyn Bridge

In mid-afternoon hundreds of demonstrators crossed the Brooklyn Bridge to join the demonstrators at the Board of Education Building. At the height of the afternoon there were 6,000 persons attending a rally addressed by Rev. Milton A. Galamison, chairman of the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools which initiated the idea of the boycott in New York; Bayard Rustin, boycott director; Dick Gregory, the comedian whose unflagging participation in the rights fight has deservedly won him the position of a leader; and James Farmer, national director of CORE.

Gregory was so elated by the turn-out at the meeting and the number of children who had boycotted school, that he said, "Now I can go South and get killed, a happy man. You've waked up the entire world."

Rev. Galamison told the crowd, "Almost twice as many people participated in today's demonstration as participated in the March on Washington, and we may have to call on you again. You have delivered a mandate to those people in the building on the left. The people won't tolerate a man named Donovan as head of the Board of Education."

At least 300 schools in New

York were picketed by over 2,600 demonstrators during the course of the day, by parents and neighborhood children who could not get to city hall or the school board. Moreover, 3,537 teachers stayed out in support of the boycotters.

A number of incidents — partly humorous, partly serious — occurred which probably never will reach the daily press which has little or no feeling for their meaning. One such occurrence began when the principal of one school himself supported the boycott and even made up signs for the pickets there. They read: "We have integration (It so happens that school was integrated); what we need is a new school."

The teachers from the school who had joined the pickets saw these signs and became furious. Turning them over they wrote "We demand school integration" on the back and were supported in this by the Negro and white parents on the line. They understood that this was a city-wide fight and that without an over-all program for integrated, high-quality schools they could hope for no improvement in their own particular school.

Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Peking vs. Moscow The Meaning Of the Great Debate

By William F. Warde

The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint

50 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Fourth Int'l Greet Zanzibar Gov't; Hits British Intervention in E. Africa

PARIS, Jan. 27 (World Outlook) — The Fourth International, the world-wide organization of revolutionary socialists founded by Leon Trotsky, today sent a message of congratulations to the leaders of the revolution in Zanzibar and a message of condemnation to the British Prime Minister for the use of British troops to crush rebellions in other East African countries.

The message sent by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to President Abeid Karume, Vice President Abdullah Kassim Hanga and Foreign Minister of External Affairs and Defense Mohammed Babu of the People's Republic of Zanzibar, declared:

"The Fourth International hails the victory of the social-revolution in Zanzibar which overthrew the neo-colonialist regime of Sultan Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdulla, who was supported by the compradore bourgeois descendants of slave dealers.

"The Fourth International greets the establishment of the People's Republic of Zanzibar, an outpost of social revolution in East Africa, which is bound to exercise a profound influence throughout Black Africa, encouraging all the forces inclined to convert the struggle for national independence into a struggle for socialist revolution.

"The Fourth International appeals to workers and oppressed peoples everywhere to help defend the People's Republic of Zanzibar against any attempt at military intervention, economic blockade or diplomatic pressure, particularly by British or U.S. imperialism and the United Nations."

"The Fourth International protests in the sharpest way against the use of British troops in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. The claim is that the troops were needed to put down a mutiny and that it is 'legal' because invitations were issued by Kenyatta, Nyerere and Obote. These are shameful pretexts like the pretext used by Belgian imperialism to justify military intervention in the Congo in July 1960.

"The real aim of the armed intervention is to intimidate the popular masses of these countries, who have been encouraged by the victory of the Zanzibar revolution, and to prevent them from unleashing a vast movement to break definitively with neo-colonialism and imperialism. The imperialist troops went into action the same day a general strike was scheduled in Dar-es-Salaam [Jan. 25]. One of the aims of the military intervention was to block this strike.

"The Fourth International appeals to the British labor movement to manifest its disapproval of this neo-colonialist intervention and to demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from East Africa.

"The Fourth International is convinced that the masses of these countries — with whom it expresses fraternal solidarity — having seen in action the vacillating or outright traitorous rule of Kenyatta, Nyerere and Obote, will turn boldly down the road of the permanent revolution in the example shown most recently by the peoples of Cuba, Algeria and Zanzibar."

REPORT FROM CYPRUS

Imperialists Fan Greek-Turkish Enmity

NICOSIA, Cyprus — The main subject that has been stirring public opinion and the press here for the past five months is the proposal by Archbishop Makarios, the president of the republic, to revise certain clauses of the Constitution which in his opinion are negative and inimical to the "smooth functioning of the state," inviting economic chaos.

In the opinion of Makarios, the revision must be undertaken no matter what the reaction of the Turkish patriots may be.

Before leaving the country because of popular unrest, imperialism sought to insure control by forcing the Constitution and the London-Zurich agreements on the Cyprus people. By conceding administrative independence, imperialism sought to secure military facilities (roads, air space, territorial waters).

The government that was set up imposed a heavy tax burden on the people to support the luxurious and highly expensive dual state apparatus.

The agreements that Makarios signed provided dual authority, including separate courts, municipal administration, co-operative societies, etc., for Greeks and Turks. It was widely felt that the heavy taxation required for this elaborate set-up would bankrupt the country. Opposition increased steadily, some people even refusing to pay taxes.

The solution offered by Makarios was revision of the Constitution. This had the added convenience of diverting attention from the economic ills besetting the island.



Archbishop Makarios

The proposed revision, however, would affect certain privileges which had been granted to the Turkish community under the London-Zurich agreements at the expense of the Greek community.

Under encouragement from the Turkish government, which has its own reasons for diverting popular attention from difficult economic and political problems at home, chauvinist Turkish leaders appealed for resistance by the Turks in Cyprus.

Chauvinist Greek leaders, seeing an opportunity to strike at the privileges enjoyed by the Turkish community, reacted by inspiring armed conflict. The result was the bloody events which drew the attention of the entire world. Neither the Turkish nor Greek commu-

nities derived any gains from the fratricidal battles. By giving vent to hate, they only injured each other.

Both the Greek and Turkish leaders sought to refurbish their prestige through appealing to the worst sentiments. The leadership of the Communist Party of Cyprus, which has a Stalinist tradition, did not help matters. Instead of seeking to overcome the chauvinism inspired among the masses, they took sides with Makarios. This policy is completely opportunistic, serving the interests of imperialism in the final analysis.

Seeing that he could be swept out by the Greek chauvinists, Makarios appealed for a ceasefire and invited British imperialism to intervene in the situation.

The position of the Cypriot Trotskyists was from the beginning one of opposition to the London-Zurich agreements and the Constitution. Both should be abolished as they are in the interests of imperialism and are a permanent source of friction between Turks and Greeks.

The Cypriot Trotskyists demanded that the Makarios government denounce the agreements and submit to a referendum. A committee should be elected to draw up a new Constitution that accords with the interests of the Cyprus people.

After the bloodshed, the Cyprus government would do better to carry an appeal to the United Nations and seek abolition of the agreements rather than attending the five-member conference in London which will surely favor the re-entry of imperialism and a possible reenactment of the tragedy of the Congo.

World Events

Provocation in Oran

"The incidents at Oran continue to preoccupy public opinion," writes *Révolution Africaine*, the Algiers weekly, of Jan. 18. On Jan. 7 an unruly crowd of youths, taking advantage of a workers' demonstration protesting layoffs at a government project, rampaged through the streets stopping streetcars and smashing cars and windows, invaded and wrecked some city offices, stole and vandalized. They shouted slogans "Vive Ferhat Abbas!" — the moderate opponent of Ben Bella — and even "Vive de Gaulle!", waving a French flag.

Giant mass meetings countered these acts. Ben Bella and other speakers pointed out that the counter-revolution was using demagoguery to take advantage of unemployment and backwardness, the heritage of colonial rule.

What was so striking about the Jan. 7 incidents, writes the Algerian paper, was the change of tactics adopted by the counter-revolution, which last November tried to divide the revolutionary socialist forces by setting up the

phony "Front of Socialist Forces." The counter-revolutionary aspect of the Oran demonstrations, it said, have made all Algerians "take cognizance that socialism will not be consolidated without perturbation."

Révolution Africaine urged that the coming Congress of the National Liberation Front devote itself to the question of raising the political clarity of the workers — to help them avoid being used by the counter-revolution in their struggle against their difficulties.

More Ex-Nazis Exposed

Dr. Hans Krüger, Minister for Refugees in the West German government, resigned Jan. 31. The same day Ewald Peters, Chancellor Erhard's personal security chief — equivalent of secret service head here — was arrested. Both top West German officials were accused of being former Nazis. Peters committed suicide in prison shortly thereafter. A previous refugee minister, Theodor Oberländer, also had to resign in 1960 when it was charged he took part in a Nazi-managed massacre in Poland.

Meanwhile, Ernst Aust, a Hamburg editor, remains under a one-year prison sentence for "imperialism of the state." He aroused the ire of authorities by, among other things, denouncing ex-Nazis in government!

Another "Plot" in Peru

The landlord government of Peru claimed Feb. 2 to have uncovered a "Communist arms-smuggling plot" in the provincial cities of Cuzco, Chiclayo and Trujillo. Gustavo Ruiz Somocurcio was alleged to have led the "plot." An undisclosed number of "suspects" were arrested along with him.

About a year ago, when Peru was ruled by a reactionary military junta, a fantastic "Communist plot" was conjured up to justify the rounding-up of all left-of-center political leaders in the country. The present "plot" — which the government claimed was to foment Venezuela-type terror — may have as its purpose to justify rounding up leaders of peasant unions. Indian peasants, especially in the Cuzco area, have been pressing their claims on the large landed estates with increasing militancy of late.

Congo Rebels Wear Fur?

Faced with an armed uprising of villagers and young people in the palm-oil plantation area of Kwilu province, the pro-U.S. Congolese government of Cyrille Adoula has tried to blame it all on a "Soviet plot." To this effect, reports were circulated that in guerrilla camps Soviet-made cameras and two Russian fur hats were found.

Strontium in Britain

The amount of Strontium 90 in the bones of British children up to four years old rose "considerably" as a result of nuclear tests carried out in the fall of 1961, the British government's Medical Research Council recently reported.

...U.S. Role in Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

judge by Robert R. Brunn's report in the Jan. 29 *Christian Science Monitor*. "A straight military solution, according to the Pentagon," writes Brunn, "is to invest Hanoi [capital of North Vietnam] by shutting off the shipment of supplies from Communist China to Haiphong, the Hanoi port which is now a privileged sanctuary."

The same issue of the *Monitor* tells of administration thinking on guerrilla warfare. Correspondent William H. Stringer reports: "When guerrilla activity reaches its peak, as in South Vietnam, consideration has been given to threatening direct retaliatory action against the true 'source' of the activity — such as by the bombing of military barracks, railroads or cement mills in North Vietnam."

Word From Washington

And a Washington official declared, according to Jack Raymond in the Feb. 1 *N.Y. Times*, that "it would be a mistake . . . for anyone in North Vietnam or in Communist China to think that the U.S. would merely 'hang on' if the war continued to go badly."

That, then, is the "major war" alternative being considered.

This charge, that North Vietnam is to blame for the civil war in the South, is a cynical and barefaced lie, and none know it better than the Pentagon brass hats and State Department slicksters themselves. Nevertheless, they assert it baldly in an attempt to blackmail North Vietnamese leaders (and their Chinese and Russian allies) to use their good offices with the South Vietnamese Liberation Front — or risk being attacked. U.S. officials hope that the peasant guerrillas may thus be persuaded to give up their arms and abandon the defense of their lands, homes and human rights.

The threat to attack North Vietnam may only be meant as black-

mail, but such a desperate adventure might indeed be tried as a "final solution" to an impossible dilemma. The danger of nuclear war that could entail makes it all the more urgent to end U.S. intervention now.

Yet, according to McNamara's latest pronouncements, the intervention will continue: "The survival of an independent government in South Vietnam is so important to the security of all of Southeast Asia and to the Free World that I can conceive of no alternative other than to take all necessary measures within our capability to prevent a Communist victory."

McNamara indicated present policy will be pressed through the dry season — i.e., till June — in the hopes that the Vietnamese army can drive back the guerrillas. But he implied that if that does not succeed — and it is hardly likely to — then new alternatives would be chosen.

...Oswald Case

(Continued from Page 1)

two months ago. For all that time, Marina Oswald has been held in secret hotel or motel rooms by Secret Service agents. Friends, relatives and newsmen have not been allowed to see her. Statements in her name have been released by two men, a lawyer, John Thorpe, appointed as "her" attorney by the Secret Service and "her" business agent, appointed in the same way.

Marina Oswald's "testimony" before the commission has not been revealed, and according to an *Associated Press* dispatch of Feb. 4, Chief Justice Warren declared that it "may not be released in your lifetime." If the full testimony before the commission "contains information affecting national security," said Warren, "it may be suppressed for decades."

In Handy Permanent Form

THE MILITANT

1963 Bound Volume

\$7.50

SPECIAL OFFER: Until the end of February, in honor of the fifth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, we are offering the five bound volumes of THE MILITANT — 1959-63 — that offer an unsurpassed collection of texts of speeches by Cuban leaders, official documents, reports from Cuba and analyses of developments there at a special savings. Each volume is \$7.50. Send \$30 for all five.

THE MILITANT
116 University Place
New York, N. Y., 10003

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Current Negro History

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Just received *The Militant* of Feb. 3, and am very impressed by the pictures of Harriet Tubman, Nat Turner, etc. It is about time someone begins to tell the real truth about American History and I hope our paper will have more of this kind of history.

But I do wish *The Militant* would include some of the modern

leaders of the Negro movement and their heroes. My own No. 1 choice would be Robert Williams. It was Williams alone, who first spoke of self-defense for the Negro against racist mobs. For this he was given a suspension from the NAACP for six months. It was Robert Williams, who as a leader of the Negro struggle in North Carolina, gave his support to the Cuban Revolution, at the expense of being an outcast to all of the so-called civil rights leaders.

Even though he is an exile from his own country, driven by both white racists in Monroe, N.C. and the police apparatus of this country to Cuba, he still fights for the rights of his people. His Radio Free Dixie is a beacon of hope and light to those who have not as yet built a land of the free, but who are in the front lines of the freedom war.

Sylvia Weinstein

TV Report on Vietnam

Brooklyn, N.Y.

On Jan. 27 my wife and I saw an NBC news presentation of a recently made news film from South Vietnam. The narrator was describing a government raid on a Mekong Delta village.

In one of the sequences we saw the government troops seize a teen-age youth, who was pitifully thin, on suspicion of being a Viet Cong. He was probably no more than 15 or 16.

His hands were securely tied with a device like a wooden stick holding his arms behind his back. One of the soldiers was beating him with rabbit punches behind the neck. The soldiers had machine-guns trained on his back and as they forced him to walk he was hit every two or three seconds with the rabbit punch.

As the boy turned you could see he was crying and apparently pleading profusely. The scene faded with him being beaten as he stumbled away from the camera. We wonder what happened to him after the filming.

Jerry Alberti

Plight of U.S. Indian

New York, N.Y.

Having read and studied the platform of the Socialist Workers Party for the 1964 Presidential election I, as a socialist who has voted for the SWP since I became a voter, have this to state:

I do go 99 per cent along with your people's program. And very regrettably I do not go 100 per cent because of your omission of one important fight and the greatest plight on this land of the capitalists — the American Indians.

The American Indians, having been the first Americans, the founders of this land, and the primitive socialist-minded in their form of government and working class (like the Siboney Indians were found to be in Cuba, in 1492) should deserve, not the privilege because we are not money-mongers, but a place in the fight for equality, not of races, but of classes as it is the Socialist struggle all over the world.

How many Americans know of the shameful plight of the first, genuine Americans in their own land? So very few indeed. Nevertheless, peoples from other countries know of this dreadful truth much more and in greater numbers.

The American Indians had their freedom, rights, lands, minerals,

food and properties — today they have nothing in the land of the brave and the free.

The American Indians have been betrayed in their own land by broken treaties written on a piece of paper by the greedy oppressors of yesterday — the capitalists of today.

The American Indians are the sickest, the poorest and the hungriest on the land where \$50 billion are spent yearly for the sole purpose of death and misery of mankind to make the "respectable businessmen" who manufacture those means the richest, happiest and proudest on earth. As Clyde Warrior, a Ponca Indian, described his people at a conference called by the National Congress of American Indians in January of this year, "We go to bed the hungriest — if we have beds to sleep in," he said, "and we get the coldest in the winter. If this is the greatest country in the world, why do these conditions exist?"

Actor Marlon Brando, lashing out at lobbyists and legislators at the same conference of the National Congress of American Indians had this to say: "The American Indian is born in dust, lives in dust, and dies in dust." "Thousands of treaties made with Indians by the American government have been ignored and torn up like so much paper."

Also at the conference, Eugene Burdick, co-author of *The Ugly American* and political scientist, pointed out the damage done to America's image by a never-ending policy of betrayal to its own Indians.

And, if we add to all this crime

and shame the capitalist teaching through textbooks, the movies and other media of the anti-Indian doctrine — the Indians were always the "bad bandits and murderers" and the cowboys were always the "respectful, decent victims" — then I think that the big struggle for the rights of the American Indians has not even been started, and the time for the liberation of all the peoples is right NOW!

J.C.

Southern Supporter

Georgia

It is time for renewal of my introductory subscription. Enclosed is a check for \$3. I would not want to miss an issue of *The Militant*! It is an invaluable link with the world of hope and action for this young white Southerner stranded in a sea of conservatism and cynicism.

The great influence in my life has been Cuba's Revolution. *The Militant* is an indispensable source of speeches by Fidel and other Cuban leaders. Through the influence of the Revolution, I have conquered and banished the racial prejudice which has been instilled in me since childhood. After all, how could one who supports the Cuban Revolution not support the Afro-American struggle?

New Reader

Sold

Chicago, Ill.

Please continue my subscription to *The Militant*. I enjoy your paper very much.

R.B.

The Bright Side

Richmond Hill, Canada

The poetic beauty of "Old-timer's" letter (R.R.S. in *The Militant* of Jan. 20) brought tears to my eyes. But not so much tears of sorrow as of gladness. Gladness in knowing that although Old-timer seems to write in a slightly negative frame of mind, I can, with so much conviction, tell him that he is not alone. There are others now, millions of others who are his friends — I'm one for a start — and we love him.

So I say, you and he and many others know a lot of the truth and we furthermore realize that right is, and always will be, on our side.

The time has, in truth, arrived when you don't have to sit at your window and gaze out in sorrow, Oldtimer. We are here and you are there, but we are in reality as one. Already the spark of revolution has burst into flame that is scorching away corruption and exploitation, decadence and cruelty.

I would specifically ask you to print my name and address, as I would welcome a letter from R.R.S. and any other reader who would care to correspond.

I am an Englishman (with Irish blood) and have long since lost the fear of reprisal that poor ignorance can bring. The world is getting brighter, you guys, in spite of everything — Smile! Keep your sense of humor.

Lou Donnelly
164 Church St., South
Richmond Hill, Ontario
Canada

It Was Reported in the Press

The Solution for Vietnam — A Feb. 1 *New York Times* dispatch from Saigon reported that at a diplomatic reception U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge was heard advising the new military ruler, Gen. Khanh, to seek popular support. "You should deliver a 'fireside chat' as soon as possible," Lodge advised.

Negro and White Home-Owners — A federal study shows that 64 per cent of white Americans owned their own homes in 1960. For Negroes the figure was 38 per cent. The typical Negro owner-occupied home was valued at \$6,700. The typical white's was valued at \$12,230.

Cleveland Anti-Illiteracy Drive — The Youth Branch of the Cleveland Council on Human Relations has opened "Operation Alphabet," to cope with widespread illiteracy. It is estimated that there are 15,000 adults in the city who are unable to read or write and about 51,000 who never got beyond the fifth grade. The Council, in tackling this project, would find it worthwhile to study how revolutionary Cuba taught 700,000 adults to read during its successful 1961 campaign to stamp out illiteracy.

Deliberate Speed? — Six months ago the Pentagon authorized base commanders to deal with the problem of businesses that Jim Crow Negro GIs by declaring such places off limits to military personnel. Manuals explaining the anti-bias directive were to have been issued last September. Because of "unexpected difficulties" these have not been issued. Despite continuing widespread dis-

crimination by businesses in the vicinity of military bases, the order has yet to be applied in a single instance.

The Arithmetic of Racism — Almost half the families in the South have incomes of less than \$60 a week. In Georgia, the median income of whites is \$48 a week. For Negroes, it's \$19 a week.

Nothing Cool for Him — Wally Findlay, a Palm Beach art dealer has two Rolls Royces, a Bentley and a Buick — all painted Cadillac white. "The Rolls white looks too much like a refrigerator," he explains.

Capitalist Realist — Edward O. Lamb, Toledo industrialist, favors admission of China into the UN as a step toward peace. Chairman of the Board of Seiberling Rubber Co. and Lamb Industries, the industrialist, in a guest lecture at Harvard, said de Gaulle had taken a "realistic approach" in recognizing China. He said boycotting had proven ineffectual in "trying to bring a big nation to its knees."

He added: "I want no part of a plot to starve fellow human beings" and suggested it was time to review relations with Cuba.

The Funeral Business — "The police are investigating a report that a suspicious limousine in Brooklyn tried to cause the crash of a car carrying two state agents investigating the funeral industry . . . The inquiry, which began last November, was prompted by numerous complaints from the public of price-gouging, bill-padding and fraudulent selling techniques by undertakers." — The Jan. 29 *New York Times*.

Sounds Good — *New York Times* film critic Bosley Crowther agreed with the consensus of his New York colleagues that the movie, *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, is a "devastating satire." But, he adds: "The whole thing, while cleverly written and most skillfully directed and played, tends to be a bit too contemptuous of our defense establishment for my comfort and taste."

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"The organized movement to save the life of Wesley Wells, a 44-year-old Negro facing legal murder April 9 by the state of California, is gaining new strength.

"Back in 1947, provoked to rage by a Negro-baiting guard, Wells, a prison inmate, hurled a cuspidor at the guard. For this 'crime' he was sentenced to death in the gas chamber!

"This utterly barbaric sentence was made possible by California's medieval and inhuman prison code, which makes such an offense punishable by death in the case of prisoners serving a life term.

"Wells was being held at the time on an indeterminate sentence, which the prison authorities insisted, with a Jim Crow judge's agreement, was equivalent to a life sentence.

"Since that outrageous decision was handed down seven years ago, repeated appeals have been made to the Supreme Court. All these courts have turned a stony ear to the pleas that they correct this horrifying act of injustice. With all avenues of legal appeal now exhausted, Wells is scheduled to die . . .

"Such clemency [executive clemency order] will be granted only if the strongest mass pressure is put on the governor. It is the obligation of every unionist, of every opponent of the Jim Crow system . . . to join the fight to save Wesley Wells."—Feb. 8, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"Aided by their Republican allies, the Southern Bourbons are ready to deprive eleven million soldiers and sailors of their democratic right to vote. They make no secret of their reason. Asked to make a statement on the soldier vote bill, Senator Overton, Democrat from Louisiana, said, 'Let's be frank. Down in the Solid South we've got to retain our state voting qualifications in order to preserve white supremacy.'

"They are bitterly opposed to giving Negro service men and women from the seven poll-tax states the right to vote. Any kind of soldier vote bill that permitted such an action would deal a blow to the poll-tax system as a whole.

"The Southern bloc has already won an important victory whether Congress adopts the Eastland 'States Rights' bill or the revised Green-Lucas 'Federal' vote bill. In both bills the state election authorities have the final say as to which ballots are to be counted. In either case the poll-tax states will be able to throw out the votes of Negroes in the armed forces.

"It is easy to understand why the Southern politicians go to such lengths to preserve the poll-tax system . . ." — Feb. 12, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"I'm afraid Vietnam is not yet through with coups. There may be several more. In fact it may be inevitable." — A "high American official," as quoted in a Feb. 1 UPI dispatch from Saigon.

SPECIAL \$1 INTRODUCTORY OFFER

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the Freedom Now Movement we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1.

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



Chicago Needy Picket To Protest Relief Cuts

By Howard Sievers & Ed Heisler

CHICAGO, Jan. 30 — Over 200 welfare recipients, mostly young Negro mothers and their children, picketed the Illinois State Building today, passing out leaflets protesting recent welfare cuts.

They demanded both jobs and the immediate distribution of federal surplus food. The poorly dressed pickets carried signs reading "Jobs now, surplus food now"; "No jobs, bad schools, slums, at least give us food"; "We want to work for a living"; and "End the two-party conspiracy against the people."

After the demonstrators had picketed for an hour and a half, a spokesman for the Commissioner of Aid attempted to explain to them that nothing could be done immediately because of many factors such as the cost of distribution of surplus food. The demonstrators refused to accept the explanation and demanded immediate action. They started chanting, "We want jobs, we want food," until the officials retreated to their offices.

A group of about 50 then left the picket line and began a sit-in in the small outer office of the Public Aid Department. It lasted for five hours until the welfare officials agreed to meet with the demonstration leaders. But Rev. Henry Mitchell, chairman of The March for Jobs and Surplus Food Committee, which organized the protest, warned that the sit-ins would be resumed in five days if action on the surplus-food program was not forthcoming. Rev. Robert Hope, another protest leader, added, "We will have a much bigger demonstration next time." It was estimated that several hundred people were unable to attend because of the lack of bus fare or proper clothing.

Early in the demonstration, a woman fainted from hunger and was taken to a hospital. She had been carrying a sign reading, "Don't punish the poor, share the surplus." Mitchell commented, "This is what I mean, these people are hungry. That poor woman had no breakfast this morning!" A couple of hours later another woman fainted for the same reason.

At noon, lunch was served. An elderly woman in a ragged coat brought out a loaf of bread which was broken up and given to the children. This was all the children had to eat since the march began and was in keeping with the new budgets set up as of Nov. 1.

It was this revised budget which sparked the demonstration. One of the provisions of the new budget is the reduction in the average individual's food allowances from \$19.31 to \$17.41 per month. This 10 per cent cut sets 18½ cents as the average allowance per meal per family member. Another provision is a rent ceiling of \$90 a month which forces many recipients to use money set aside for other needs such as food and clothing for rent.

Welfare officials explained that it is quite easy to live under the new budget — if one is careful in buying food. They recommended, for example, that the allowance of one pint of milk a day for each child be attained by use of powdered milk. Also, navy beans and white potatoes should be substituted for many other vegetables. They see no reason for buying fresh fruits when canned grapefruit juice can provide the same vitamins.

In discussing the marchers' demands, Rev. Mitchell pointed out that surplus food is being distributed in 26 downstate counties where 70 per cent of the relief recipients are white. In Cook County (Chicago) where 80 per cent of the recipients are Negro, no food is distributed.

Harold O. Swank, state public-aid director, replied that the need in Cook County was no greater than in 65 other counties where surplus food is not being distributed.

A public statement by Democratic Governor Kerner offered the marchers no immediate relief nor any indication that he plans to ask for federal surplus food.

Despite the efforts of powerful forces to block it, plans are still under way for a new, massive school boycott in Chicago Feb. 25, according to a *New York Times* report. Last October, Chicago's Negro community staged what was, until New York's, the biggest school boycott in the nation's history.

To prevent the next one, the *Times* reports, Mayor Daley's Democratic administration has enlisted the active support of Rep. William Dawson, the conservative Negro Democrat from Chicago. But despite Dawson's pressure in the Negro community, militant elements, including the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, are still pressing for the school shutdown.



Militant photo by Ed Heisler

DEMAND DECENT DIET. Chicago children on picket line organized by March for Jobs and Surplus Foods Committee. Presence of the children on the line pointed up the shame of the second biggest city in the world's richest country. While huge surpluses pile up in nation's warehouses officials permit the poverty to exist that makes such demonstrations necessary. One of the youngsters carried a sign that read: "Without a good balanced meal we can't succeed in education."



Committee for Miners photo/Anthony Cassanova

KENTUCKY PLAYGROUND. Children of jobless Eastern Kentucky coal miner in setting typical for Negroes and poor whites in area. Negroes there have a long way to go in winning civil rights but they do share equally in the extreme poverty in the blighted mining area. Negroes participated in the roving-picket strike movement which shut down scab mines around Hazard, Ky., last spring. Now they are becoming active in the movement of unemployed miners led by Berman Gibson in the fight for "Food, Jobs and Justice."

"NO RENT FOR RATS"

New York Rent Strikers Double Ranks

By William Bundy

NEW YORK, Feb. 1 — There is a rat in a cage in the window of the store-front headquarters of the Lower East Side Rent Strike at 332 E. Fourth St. in downtown Manhattan. On top of the cage is a pink baby blanket, and on top of that is a sign which says: "This rat was found wrapped in this baby blanket inside a crib at 626 E. 6th St. No Rent For Rats!"

"No Rent For Rats" is the double-meaning slogan of the New York City rent-strike movement which began in Harlem early this winter and which is still spreading. The number of buildings involved in the withhold-the-rent movement doubled the first of this month according to an estimate by Jesse Gray, leader of Harlem's Community Council on Housing which started the strike.

Number of Tenements

There are now 300 buildings involved in Harlem, 50 on the Lower East Side, 45 in the Bronx and 45 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

The entrance of the Lower East Side section into the strike was announced at a rally in the Eldridge St. area. Tenants, including many children, marched through the area carrying torches and signs and shouting slogans in Spanish and English to draw a crowd to the meeting which was held in the University Settlement House. The hall, which held some 300 persons, was overflowing as tenants and their children crammed the aisles and even the stage. Someone hung an effigy of a slumlord from a rafter. The audience — like the neighborhood — was mixed with Puerto Ricans, Negroes and whites, and the proceedings were bi-lingual.

Speakers included Loriman Rhodell, of Downtown CORE, Genevieve Clemente of the Integrated Workers Housing Clinic, Francis Goldin of the University Settlement

Housing Clinic, Grace Cade, chairman of the Lower East Side Rent Strike, and Pedro Ortero, vice chairman of the group.

Jesse Gray, the rent-strike leader from Harlem, received an ovation when he appeared. He said the meeting would "correct the opinion in this city that only Negroes will stop paying rent."

Gray explained the demand of the Harlem tenants for the city to establish a special emergency repair force "to move in fast when there is an emergency repair necessary." He demanded that the landlords "who have been on strike from making repairs for years" be given heavy fines or sent to jail.

He said the rent strikers were thinking of a "rats-to-Rocky" campaign to send rats found in slum dwellings to Governor Nelson Rockefeller (a Republican). The Governor, said Gray, might tell the tenants they had the wrong address and that the rats should be sent to Mayor Robert Wagner (a Democrat). "Well," said Gray, "I think both addresses are correct."

Gray declared that the Harlem movement would not allow evictions of any tenants on rent strike. "You have the support of Harlem tenants," he said. "We will go to court and even to jail with you in this fight."

Stopped Eviction

This point was of particular interest since the Community Council on Housing was at that time involved in stopping the attempted eviction of a Harlem tenant.

The tenant, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, who has lived for 20 years at 476 West 144th St., had received a 24-hour notice of eviction. She had refused to pay rent until her landlord corrected the violations in her apartment. Mrs. Brown went to court Jan. 29 to get a stay. It was granted, but while she was at court, City Marshal Reginald Thorp moved her

furniture out and padlocked the apartment.

Jesse Gray, who rushed to the scene when he heard of the eviction, was struck during an argument with the marshal and his assistant. Members of the Community Council on Housing broke the padlock and moved Mrs. Brown's furniture back into the apartment. But they found the place wrecked — the sink torn from the wall, bathroom fixtures and windows broken. It was an apparent spiteful attempt by the landlord to force Mrs. Brown to move by making the apartment uninhabitable. Some CCH members set about repairing the apartment as others picketed the nearest police station to protest the marshal's action.

Barricaded Door

In further court action Jan. 31 the stay was lifted. Gray, Mrs. Brown, and her 16-year-old son went to court and got another stay. But when they got back from court they found the police trying to break into the apartment through a back wall. Inside, CCH members had barricaded the door. The cops left when they were shown the new stay order.

That night the Community Council on Housing sent the following telegram to Mayor Robert F. Wagner:

"Thousands of Harlem tenants have lived for years in violation-ridden buildings. They have been bitten by rats, hit by falling plaster, and frostbitten in unheated apartments. Still the city has not forced slumlords to remove violations. Yet, police and city marshals act immediately when a slumlord asks that these tenants be evicted."

"We ask you Mayor Wagner, 'Is this justice?' You must not allow criminal slumlords to evict another innocent tenant. Blood will be on your hands if the tenants are forced to defend themselves against these illegal evictions."